511

*Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued*

| | Cr. $ |
|---|---|
| **Clothing for 3 children for year:** | |
| 5 shirts at Cr. $20 | 100,00 |
| 3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15 | 45,00 |
| 3 jackets at Cr. $25 | 75,00 |
| Total | 220,00 |
| Total for clothing for family of 5 | 975,00 |
| **Food and other household items per week:** | |
| Maté tea, 1 kilo | 3,50 |
| Salt, ½ kilo | 1,00 |
| Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap | 2,00 |
| Rice, ¼ kilo | 1,00 |
| Dried meat, 1 kilo | 6,00 |
| Lard, ½ kilo | 5,00 |
| Total for week | 18,50 |
| Total for year | 962,00 |
| **Average annual expenditure for family of 5:** | |
| Clothing | 975,00 |
| Food and household items | 962,00 |
| Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc. | 122,00 |
| Total | 2 059,00 |

## LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

### AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 [551] [177] [797] [871]

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. [342] [352]

[P.17-A]

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Be 159
sides himself, his wife, and six children, the house [592]
is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male
cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children [513]
sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants [352]
sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron
kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are [415]
sometimes used also. The occupants of the house
eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is
situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded
by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio [23]
has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young
rooster.

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and 159
grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grand- 177
father, who was a medicine man, came from the 795
Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were bap-
tized in the Catholic faith, although his grand-
father never became a regular church member.
Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. [797]
At the Post he attended the Protestant mission
school until he was 12. During these years he
lived with and worked for the English missionary,
herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was
not converted to Protestantism.

After leaving school he lived with his uncle 159
until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his
little farm at the Post. He then went to Aqui-
dauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's
assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable
farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, tak-
ing his mother with him.

After working 3 months on the fazenda he re-
turned to the Post to help his grandfather, who
was becoming very old. After his grandfather [591]
died he married and went to live with his father-
in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During
this time he, together with some other Indians,
worked for a while on the telegraph line. In
1932 he and several other Indians went with the
manager of the Post to fight in the revolution,
staying away for 6 months.

When he came back he built his own house in
the village and began working for the manager
of the Post, doing many things, such as building
repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which [465]
he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not
cultivate land of his own. He has been the cap-
tain of one of the three football teams and the [526]
manager of the sports club where dances are given.

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[POST-Chaco Period] Terena

He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work. 159

FARMER

José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Kohilu*), is 58 years old. His great-grandfather was Tovolé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead. [551]

Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, cará, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume. [342]

His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese. [795] [797] [212]

He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pikiâi*) is 47 years old. He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guaraní. He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15 [551] [795] [212] [191]

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [59] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. From manioc he makes meal and also starch [241] which he sells to the Indians in the village and to the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [438] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. He learned this craft from his [326] uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he [463] says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena [166] Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [55] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [745] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

[Post-Chaco Period]

In one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from the ceiling. [159] [352] [353] [405]

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians. [241] [443] [438]

Domingos learned to read and write and to do simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village. [891] [997]

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes great pride in being able to use. [592] [352] [513] [405] [416]

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away. [231] [241] [494]

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro. [212] [997] [191]

### BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm.

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving.

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog.

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay.

### STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters.

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him.

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors.

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few

[Post Chaco Period]

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on roads and with the money earned he bought more livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He claims that he does not make enough money from his livestock to live and has to work for the Post on occasion.

159 [231] [511]

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal.

159 563

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a stake-walled one-room house, one side opening onto a shed where he has his work bench.

[342]

Feliciano learned to read and write when he was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very well with the Protestants. He was trained to be a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and repairs harness for people in the village and for people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him.

[212] [794] [463] [282]

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He learned to read and write at the Protestant mission school. He reads the Bible and sometimes newspapers.

159 [212] [797]

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

[Cachoeirinha]

176 cont./

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
621 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./ being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

This road connects Passarinho with Moreira, the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União." In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

## [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.
[785] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which
[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[241] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "domestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
361
312

/130 cont./

369 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had be-
167 come "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to
578 the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)
181

[159]

199. As we already mentioned in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to his past, had acquired a great sense of competition and highly organized working habits. Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha had nothing more to offer him, not only because he had no technical assistance, but also because he had heard that São Paulo offered the best possible opportunities to those with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slashing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Contrary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city, but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

369
[441]

200. He bought a modest store (bolicho) and almost lost all his money there. The last time we saw him

/138 cont./

*177 666 369 929 and one more compatible with a democratic system, something that does not happen in the aldeas or on the fazendas, which are still part of a paternalistic structure (each in its own way) and ideologically inconsequent. The fact is that both the aldea Indians and the detribalized ones, on the whole, are led by the activities of the political parties to an awareness of the existence of /139/ a broader structure that compels them to express themselves by means of the vote. Of course, the consciousness of this mechanism varies in the proportion indicated above, with the urbanized Indians in the "more enlightened" [554] position. It is worth mentioning here, to illustrate a change which is taking place in the Terêna situation, the candidacy of one of their most active leaders, the "Believer," Patrício Lily, for a member of the city council of Miranda in the coming elections of October, 1958. (206) There is no doubt that the

[189]

206. This Terêna, in spite of living in a village--and of being classified roughly among the aldea Indians--is one of the exceptions, perhaps the most glaring one, owing to the fact that he is connected with the city to the same extent as the urbanized Indians, as demanded by his profession as a music teacher and an Evangelical leader, whose story we already referred to in Chapter V. (When this work was in press, in final proofs, we learned that the Terêna, Patrício Lily, had given up his candidacy, claiming that he was not a politician, although he had been invited to join various slates of candidates.)

/140 cont./

developed a superior technique, in combination with the great endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor. It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table" we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day, and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,

/141 cont./

where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again. This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terena with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say, "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

This concern with the body--which we do not claim to be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated